

LANGUAGE CURRICULUM FOR TEACHER EDUCATORS

Dr. D.P. Pattanayak



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FOREWORD

Language curriculum is particularly important in India where multiple languages and cultures co-exist and many languages are being used in the educational institutions as media of instruction. Moreover, students at the school level are required to learn atleast three languages during their school period as the First, Second and Third language. In addition, they are often required to learn some foreign and classical languages. Language learning has proved to be directly related to concept formation and achievement in other subjects as also as the most powerful means of developing knowledge regarding the universe and the acquisition of language competencies.

Many institutions have been active in pursuing research innovations, training and extension in the field of languages and language instruction resulting in accumulation of a lot of research findings during the last three decades, which, however, have not been adequately used in the formulation of policies with regard to language education in the country. This monograph is designed for teachers at the elementary level of education even at the cost of some repetition in the text. It deals with a complex matter but in a simple and lucid manner. The issues discussed are relevant to education at all levels.

I had requested Dr. D.P. Pattanayak, former Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, (Govt. of India), to write the monograph with the purpose of opening the area for teachers and teacher educators, as also research scholars and decision makers with regard to the issues of language in education. Dr. Pattanayak who has a rare insight into linguistics, culture and anthropology, has by far the widest and most intensive experience relevant to language instruction in all its ramifications. I am grateful to him for writing the monograph. This monograph may throw some light for the teachers, on relevant issues of language curriculum. In view of the relevance of language curriculum

for education, there are many more publications in this field that are in our mind which may equally depend upon the initiative and experience of persons like Dr. Pattanayak.

I am also grateful to Dr. C.H.K. Misra, series editor of the monographs, Dr. O.S. Dewal who has gone through text carefully and Dr. D.N. Khosla, editor of the volume.

New Delhi
November 10, 1997

J.S. RAJPUT
Chairman, NCTE

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INTRODUCTION

In countries where multiple languages and cultures co-exist, the notion of one dominant language as the medium of instruction not only leaves thousands of children illiterate in their mother tongue but also fosters low achievement levels even in the dominant language itself. A new educational strategy which recognises linguistic and cultural pluralism as a strength to build upon rather than as a handicap to further learning has to be developed if it is to be relevant to the existing realities all over the world.

Educational experts in India claim that we are on the threshold of a revolution. Whether this revolution will be productive or abortive will depend on our capability to devise a technology which will update and extend education, and by catering to the needs of the socially handicapped will ensure social justice. Qualitative improvement of education is dependent on curriculum reform, which in turn is expected to trigger introduction of improved teaching and learning approaches and methodologies, teaching enrichment programmes, examination reform and production of innovative material suited to different needs. India with 1,652 mother tongues is badly in need of language planning. With between 54 and 34 per cent of the school time devoted to language teaching without commensurate results, the curriculum reform cannot be put off any longer.

There is another alarming picture emerging in India. Number of languages used in schools are in the decline : in 1970 as many as 81 languages were used for schooling which gradually reduced in 1976 to 67, in 1978 to 58 and in 1990 to 44 only. Medium at the primary level diminished from 49 languages in 1978 to 43 in 1990. In the country languages vary, stages at which they are introduced also vary, time allotments vary between 6 to 12 hours for 1st Language, 4 to 6 hours for 2nd and 2 to 4 hours for the 3rd language; duration of periods

vary from 35 to 45 minutes, marks awarded vary from 100 for 1st, 50 to 100 for 2nd and much less for the 3rd, minimum pass marks vary also from 30 to 40. In the 3rd language there is no examination, no pass minimum. There is exemption. Teaching styles vary, the teacher education inputs vary and assessments too vary. Under these circumstances, the curriculum can be a range but not a single point.

Instruction in the mother tongue helps in the search of self-affirmation, satisfies the national urge for cultural rootedness and group identity and avoids fanaticism. A child has to be brought into harmonious relationship with its environment while being persuaded to maximize the opportunities offered by the learning experience. A language curriculum maker has to understand the role of mother tongue in concept formation, critical thinking, fostering creativity and imparting social values.

Excepting for linguistic scientists, learning of languages is not a goal in itself. Learning of classical languages not only acquaints one with one's own tradition and heritage and thus gives a sense of cultural rootedness but also gives a balanced perspective of historical linkages forged through languages and cultures. Learning second and foreign languages open doors and windows to understand the difference and forge linkages with the proximate and the distant. Learning languages enriches the quality of life and provides better life chances.

In a multi-dialectal and multilingual country, language planning thus poses a very serious challenge. In countries with a colonial past where languages could be used for strife and confrontation among interest groups, the functional domains of languages need to be clearly charted out and the instructional objectives be clearly stated for all stages of instruction. It is in this context that this monograph is presented to education managers, teacher educators and teachers with the hope that it will help improve language teaching and language planning in the country.

SOME CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

The human child is born with an innate capacity to use language. Speaking and being human are coterminous. Language identifies the child with some and separates her from others. Thus, language is basic to identity formation as well as human group formation.

Language and culture are intimately related. Language is a component of culture as well as the carrier of culture. Language and culture are in the subconscious of the user and the practitioner. Although a child masters the grammar of her mother tongue(s) by the age of four, she cannot explicitly state the grammatical categories even when she grows into adulthood.

Language is acquired in the mother's lap, in interaction with the peer group and in the loving care of care givers and the elder generation. Languages are taught in the school, formal or non formal. They are acquired under conditions of intimacy and learnt under conditions of discipline. A single standard and a single correct form rules the class room.

Multilingualism and pluri-culturalism are characteristics of the globe we inhabit. Asia, Africa and Latin America are known as the Third World. This developing 'third world' is particularly multilingual and multicultural. It is necessary to understand that the developed world has appropriated the nomenclatures of the first and the second world and has lumped Asia, Africa and Latin America together to call it the Third World. Such power relation is manifest in the theorisation which holds a single language as the norm, two languages as an aberration, three languages tolerable and many languages absurd. In a polyvocalic situation, the reverse is true: many languages are the norm, restrictions in the choice of language use is a handicap, two languages are tolerable and one language is absurd.

Language Variation—First, Second, Foreign and the Classical

In a multilingual country, like India, it is only natural that people would wish to learn another Indian language for a variety of reasons, some of which may be :

- a. the spirit of questioning which impels one to enquire and know about the life style and culture of the neighbour as well as that of the distant;
- b. the conscious effort to participate in a wider culture by overcoming the social attitudes based on ignorance and superstition relating to caste, race and regional superiority. Positively, this entails the study of language, customs, history, etc. of another region which relates one with other components of culture;
- c. evolving power of discrimination and inculcation of taste through the study of literature other than one's own;
- d. enlarging one's job potential through the acquisition of functional mastery over the language of another area in which one wishes to compete, etc.

Human beings are speakers and hearers of languages. In a communication setting, one can be a speaker or a listener with understanding. If the mother tongue is the first language of the child, she learns other languages as second languages if there is reinforcement from the immediate environment. If there is no reinforcement and the learning is confined to the class room or study centre, then she learns the language as a foreign language. Thus, an Indian language, say Malayalam, or Khasi may be taught as foreign language in Orissa. English, which is a colonial heritage in India, may be taught as second language in Indian urban centres. The same, English, may be taught as foreign language in some tribal and interior rural areas of the country. Learning a classical language is different from the above two. For example, all the modern Indian languages contain a component of Sanskrit, the classical language in India. Therefore, while learning it, one has to make use of different appropriate materials as well as methodologies.

It will thus be seen that languages are learnt as first, second, third, foreign or classical languages. There is a great deal of confusion about these terminologies. For example, mother tongue is often said to be mother's language. Mother tongue is sometimes referred to as first language and sometimes as home language. If one looks at the mother tongue returns of the Indian census, one finds Bilaspuria(place name), teli (caste name), Haridas (sect name), and Bahargaon/ Pardeshi(location outside the present). Therefore, one can say that mother tongues are not necessarily language names, but they are identity tokens awaiting further clarification. Home language in a multilingual country may refer to more than one language. What adds to this confusion is the fact that the language in priority of introduction in the school is called First language. Sometimes even English is called mother tongue English or First language English. In Poona, when one day my son came from the school, I asked him what he studied in school that day. Among other things, he said, "Mother tongue English." I asked him since when English had become his mother tongue. He did not understand the question and gave me a vacant stare. On inquiry, I found that the school had two levels of English. The higher level was called 'Mother tongue English'.

Second language refers to a language accorded second priority in the school curriculum. As it has been pointed out, pedagogically, language is taught as a second language only if reinforcement from the immediate environment influences class room instruction. Third language is the one which is accorded third priority in the school curriculum. These priorities are measured in terms of the number of hours allotted and the quantum of content to be covered. The Surendranath Committee report in Karnataka brings out a disturbing fact. In Karnataka, 14 periods per week were allotted to the First Language Kannada. It came down to 10 periods and now it stands at 7 periods per week. It would be interesting to see where the periods have gone. Foreign languages in the folk perspective refer to a language imported from a foreign country. This has little validity. Depending upon the historically cut off point, all Dravidian and Indo Aryan languages would have been treated as foreign languages following this criteria. Foreign language is one, the instruction of which is

confined to the class room. A mathematics teacher leaves the class at a certain point one day and begins at the same point the next day. While a foreign language teacher may end and begin her classes the same way, a second language teacher cannot begin teaching without taking into account the influence of the environment. For example, the class room teacher may drill English f, but the societal use of ph, th, resulting in the pronunciation of phaaibh, phaain, think has to be taken into account by the teacher.

A classical language stands on a different footing. When somebody asked Tagore if Sanskrit is the mother of all modern Indian languages, his reply was Sanskrit is the mother of all Indian languages in the same way as earth is the mother of worms. First of all Sanskrit is not a spoken language in the same way as Oriya, Bengali or Hindi. And yet Sanskrit has left its imprint on all the Indian languages. Therefore, the methods and materials are bound to be different from those employed for learning modern Indian languages. The same is the case of Latin with reference to the modern Romance languages.

In the study of language variation, scholars have focused attention on the horizontal plane. A lot of work, therefore, has been done in the field of study of geographical variation of a language at one point of time (synchronic dialectology) all over the world. Most of the scholars who have discussed variation on the vertical plane have done so only in relation to the time axis. Research in the fields of Comparative Philology and Comparative Historical Linguistics have yielded valuable results about language change, over a period of time. A relatively important area of synchronic study in the vertical plane, the social role and the status matrix has not received sufficient attention of the linguists. Although language in relation to society on its different aspects has been studied, allocation of roles and functions to various languages/dialects, commensurate with the functional needs to communication dictated by the social hierarchy, has received scant attention.

In the horizontal plane, depending on the participation of an individual in wider communication, he uses different languages in defined social domains. A man coming from Dharwar speaks Dharwar,

Kannada there, standard Kannada at Mysore and he has to speak Telugu, Tamil or Marathi depending on his needs on the neighbouring States. He uses Hindi-Urdu in North India. If he wishes to increase the area of communication in physical terms, the present situation being what it is, the languages one has to learn increase in number.

The synchronic vertical plane is parallel to the above situation. A person uses his dialect at home, the standard with the stranger from his own linguistic community and with the relatively urban, a culture language with a higher elite status group and in a relatively formal institutional context, national and international languages enjoying hierarchical status in defined domains. For example, a Konkani speaker uses his marked variety at home, the standard when he meets speakers of other regionally marked varieties, Marathi/Kannada with the elite status group, Hindi and English with the national elite and English with the international elite. Thus, it will be seen that language use in this plane is related to the notion of Sanskritisation, meaning upward movement through the use of a high status language, and is a factor in marking local, regional and national elites.

The term culture language is used here in a neutral sense. The word culture in culture language is not used in the Arnoldian sense, it is neutral in the manner of its modern usage. The speakers of a language who uses a culture language are neither uncultured nor does their language suffer from any deficiency. In a multilingual situation a person is likely to use more than one language for wider communication. The one he uses for fulfilling his immediate broad socio-cultural need beyond the restricted local needs is designated here as culture language. For example, those speaking Bhojpuri or Maithili can fulfil their family and local needs with these languages, but they use standard Hindi for the purposes of educational administration and mass media. Both Bhojpuri and Maithili have long standing folk and literary tradition, both are used as media for good literature and even good cinema. Therefore, accepting standard Hindi as culture language has no pejorative implication for these language speakers. The Tulu and Kodagu speakers use Kannada and Konkani speakers use Marathi as culture language in this sense: Russian for the minority language

speakers in the Soviet Union, English for the Welsh and Irish in the U.K., Tagalog for the many minority mother tongue speakers in Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia in the linguistically plural State of Indonesia are culture languages in the above sense.

In multilingual India where there are over 1,600 tributaries and only 18 main stream languages, the tributaries have the choice within the overall contours of their socio-economic needs to choose one of the main stream languages as culture language. Acceptance of a culture language does not mean wilful elimination of the local tongues. On the contrary, it means ensuring access by the large majority of people to social rank, status and wealth through education, enlargement of job opportunities and ensuring popular participation in the process of governance. This requires the adoption of an educational strategy which, while fostering the cognitive development of the learner through the use of the language of early childhood experience, would result in a smooth transition to the major stream. Bilingual primary education is the first step in this direction.

LANGUAGE NOT A BURDEN

Learning a new language is not a burden. Carrying a load of sandalwood may be a burden to a donkey. To a human being the aromatic factors of the language may compensate its load factor. When a literate farmer scratched a few words on the spade and sent his illiterate brother home to fetch a piece of equipment, the success of literacy thrilled his illiterate brother. Certainly, it is not burden or the load factor which prohibited him from being literate. Sheer understanding that extension of ability to connect space and time through messages motivated him to be literate.

Language is both Formal and Non-formal

Written language is not only formal, but it is also both formal as well as non-formal. So is the spoken language both formal and non-formal. Spoken Tamil, particularly political oration or platform Tamil, presents a variety of formal. The relationship between the written and the spoken is not of superior and inferior, but one of extension and restriction. The Industrial Revolution took place when England was confronted with the lowest literacy. Superiority is a label imposed by the privileged minority over the under-privileged majority.

Language as Standard and Non-standard

Standard is a shifting phenomenon. What is standard today may become non-standard tomorrow. Poona Marathi which was standard at one time gave way to Bombay Marathi as standard. Standard is not even the best variety of speech. The variety of Ao Naga language which was selected for writing is the Chungte dialect which is considered less rich than Mungsen, the dialect of folk songs and folk tales. *Standard is not a point, but a range. The wider the range, the greater is the acceptability of the standard.*

Very often, primary school teachers and teacher educators, following the single standard insist on a single correct form. Thus, out of a multiple forms Krishna, Krushna, Kaanaa, Kanhu, only a single form is considered the standard and, therefore, the correct form. This is not true. All these forms are socially acceptable, are in use and are recognised as standard.

Language variations and style

Dialect is geographical variation of language. Bhojpuri, Maithili, Braj, Avadhi are dialects of Hindi. Sociolect is social variation of language. Language of women, languages of different castes and classes come under this category. Languages of different professions are called registers. Thus, one can speak of the legal register, the banking register and the scientific register. Differing relationship between sounds and forms represent styles. There may be style difference among individual writers. A style band among many writers within a period defines the style of an age. A study of all these forms the part of learning languages.

Many educated people either do not know the distinction between language and dialect or intentionally confuse the two. They call tribal languages as dialects. There was a time when the Bengalis treated Oriya and Assamese as dialects of Bengali. A governor of one of the North Eastern States had written two books in one of the languages. Strangely, he was convinced that the language had no grammar. In 1961, when I was showing my dissertation to Sri Mayadhar Mansingh, a respected poet and editor of the Oriya Encyclopaedia, he was furious because I had written that the Oriya material used was drawn from the coastal dialect of Orissa. Of late Konkani, considered a dialect of Marathi, finally got the status of a language and a State for itself.

Language as a subject and medium

Teachers and teacher educators do not distinguish among learning a language, learning about a language and learning through a language. Learning a language means learning speaking, reading and

writing a language with understanding. Learning about a language means learning about its history or the history of its speakers, learning about varieties, styles and domains. Learning through a language means using language as a medium of subjects. Language as a subject is different from language as a medium.

Community Co-operation for Language

In language acquisition and language learning the cooperation of parents, teachers and the immediate society is essential. If the parents do not control the school language, then their input into education of the child is denied. If the teacher does not share the language of the learner, then the ritual of teaching is performed without reference to the learner's understanding and without giving chance to the learner to clarify the initial doubts. Difference in the attitude and perception of the learner and the teacher may create problems. In an American classroom when an Indian child was asked to draw, she drew a Swastika, a holy Hindu symbol. The teacher berated her as she thought it to be a Nazi symbol. A tribal child in an Indian elementary school used his language to ask his non-tribal friend to come and sit near him. The teacher, who overheard it, rebuked the child saying, "You village urchin, shut up." The child never understood whether he was admonished for not using the school language or for using his home language.

A fine example of lack of cooperation is provided by a Korean family that moved over to the U.S.A. The children were admitted into an English medium school. The parents, who did not know English, somehow managed. Things were going on all right till the grand parents came for a visit. As the grandfather did not know English, the children were ordered to speak to him in Korean. They tried their best. But their Korean had, however, rusted because of non-use. They had forgotten the honorific and their non-use could signify insult. The grandfather gave a dressing down to his son, for not bringing up the children in the Korean tradition, who, in turn, gave a few lashes to the children. Next day when someone noticed lash marks, the children were taken into protective custody and the parents were dragged to

court. Nobody noticed that language was at the heart of this family drama.

There is another dimension to this cooperation. If an Eskimo child differentiated between 32 varieties of snow and her English teacher distinguished between two, snow and ice, if a boy from the Kerala sea coast distinguishes between 20 varieties of wind and her English teacher recognises only two, wind and air, then there are bound to be problems.

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Languages are taught as skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. Comprehension is a key factor in listening and reading. If what is spoken and written is not comprehended, then societal communication breaks down. One has to look at the skills from the perspective of mother tongue as well as other tongue teaching. Since the child has acquired listening and speaking skills in the mother tongue, she begins with writing and reading. The other language learner has to learn the spoken skills before learning writing and reading. Unfortunately, this factor is not understood by the teachers and learners. Forcing English and Hindi on other Indian language speakers results in their being semi-linguals (inefficient communicators in both mother tongue and English/Hindi).

The present teaching of second and third languages is not based on creating the ability to speak before reading and writing. No effort is made to link one language with another. Although it is established by research that reading is a generalised skill and a good reader in one language can be a good reader in another, seldom is this taken into consideration while teaching languages.

When I asked a class 5 student in a rural school in Karnataka to read page 14 of the text she was holding, she asked me whether she should read with the book open or book closed. When I asked her to read with the book closed, she closed the book, closed her eyes, searched for the cue word and started reciting the page in the text. Neither the teacher nor the learner found anything wrong in it. Neither had she the awareness that what she was doing is recitation and not reading.

What is worse is that no distinction is made between reading and reciting. 'By heart' is a term contributed to be educational lexicon by the teaching community.

In our childhood, dictation was an essential component of language learning. It came to disrepute for some time. Now researchers have found that dictation is a measure of composite skills. Therefore, it has been rehabilitated.

Intricacies of Reading and Writing

Reading is one area where there is lot of confusion as well as dissension. One does not read things as they are written. For example, English knee and Psychology, do and go. In English 'a' has as many as eight values. In Hindi one writes kahnaa, but speaks and reads it as kchnaa. In Tamil there is a three-way distinction between what one writes, what one reads and what one speaks. For example, Tamil paaTam is read as paaRam and spoken as paaRo. The Hindi and Tamil examples are rule-governed. The English exceptions need to be listed.

Moving from simple to complex and known to unknown are two cardinal principles of education. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that verbal fluency is a precursor of reading. Narrative speech, verbal fluency and linguistic awareness go hand in hand. The child learns intricacies of grammar of its mother tongue by the age of four. Promotion of verbal fluency reinforces grammar as well as linguistic awareness. It is achieved by telling and retelling of stories, which in turn results in the creative use of words and phrases. Verbal fluency to literacy is a natural progression. Take, for example, the three levels of honorific 'tu', 'tum', 'aap' in Hindi. A child from a Hindi speaking home, acquainted with these usages, makes a smooth transition to English 'you'. But supposing a Hindi child begins with English from the pre-school stage and learns only 'you', it comes into instant conflict with the three-way distinction in its immediate environment and probably in its initial verbal repertoire. Reading something that one does not speak creates major problems. The fifth standard girl who read with the book closed had neither verbal fluency nor reading ability. She did not have the linguistic awareness to distinguish memorized text from the narrative speech.

Phonological awareness is another precondition of good reading. One of the characteristics of human language is duality of

patterning. To build larger units from smaller ones is duality of patterning. Through language segmentation one not only sees the correspondence between the letter and the significant sound unit(grapheme and phoneme), one also sees the relation between syllable and the word.

Reading comprehension needs to accompany literacy. It has to be consciously promoted. It is to be underlined that literal comprehension is not a sufficient condition of good reading, but inferential comprehension is. It is not straightforward word meaning, but reading in between the lines that is an important facet of comprehension.

The sources of problems in reading are many. Languages change constantly. But the changes are not reflected immediately in the written language. For example, in spoken Oriya there is a single sibilant. But in written Oriya there are three. In spoken Oriya the vowel length distinction is no longer significant, but in writing they are retained. For example, *sara* ‘skim of milk’, *sara* ‘arrow’ *saNDha* ‘bull’ *jor gadi* ‘mattress’, *nadi* ‘river’. These spellings help keep the historical meanings apart. Those who blindly call for script reform miss these subtleties of the language.

Another interesting area is the so-called deficiency in the script system or introduction of new elements in the spoken language. Orthography in Indian languages is partly syllabic and partly alphabetic. The stop affricate series are phonetically arranged into five ‘vargas’ (manner of articulation) and five places of articulation. Tamil is an exception. Tamil *k* stood for all the first four elements in the varga *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*. The same is true of *k*, *c*, *T*, *t*, *p*. Subsequently, the voice was introduced in the spoken Tamil. They have yet to find place in the alphabet. It may be mentioned here that in order to cope with the Sanskrit sounds, the Tamils created the Grantha script for exclusive use for writing Sanskrit.

It is important to note that while Indian languages belong to four families, Indian scripts, with the exception of Roman and Perso-

Arabic, belong to a single family. They are all derived from Brahmi. Their inherent arrangement, phonetic structuration and shape similarity have not been utilised to any great extent by any authority.

Another problem source is the directionality of writing. For example, Bengali is written from left to right, Urdu is written from right to left, and Chinese and Japanese are written from top down. Sindhi is written both in Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts. It is bidirectional, both right to left and left to right. There is not much research about reading speed and directionality of writing nor about linking reading and writing.

There is lot of difference among scholars about writing. Whether one should teach to write following the dictionary order or shape similarities of letters, whether one should follow the traditional order or try out innovations are at the base of controversy. The initial literacy books present an array of materials : Oriya : maa ramaa bara ramaara rabara; Hindi : laala taalaa laa; Marathi : kamal phul bagh. All these fall in a single category. Ka for kamal and A for apple also belong to the same category. The system developed by me at the AIISS, Pune, and perfected by the CIIL, Mysore, is based on shape similarity and contrastive observation. Some persons were so taken by Paulo Frere's Pedagogy of the Oppressed¹ that they started with emotionally surcharged words for beginning literacy. They did not include planning for the presentation of the script nor any systematic follow up of the initial material.

1. Paulo Frere : PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED

METHODS OF LEARNING LANGUAGE

Mackey speaks of 54 methods although he discusses about 20 of them. Sharma² mentions about 30 methods. The term 'Method' has been so loosely used that Sharma speaks of Radio and Cinema methods, self-teaching method, practice theory method, natural method, elective method, linguistic method and laboratory method on the one hand and of reading method, correspondence method, conversational method, situational method and composite method on the other, besides psychological method, cognate method, mimicry memorisation method, unit method, dual language method, language control method, and Army Special Training³ method. TV had not been as important as today when the book was first written, otherwise he would have added a TV method also. Earl Stevic's work had better reason for being listed as a method. This has not been recognised.

Micro-teaching too does not find mention in his work. Programmed learning is primarily a self-teaching method. The learning material is so programmed that one element branches out into another and in this manner the gamut of issues relating sound and meaning, and word and text is covered. Composite input into language teaching is nothing but an eclectic method which uses elements from different methods and practices to energize language teaching and language learning. Audio-visual and audio-lingual inputs for language learning are important for all the methods.

Direct method is total immersion in the language to be learnt in the sense that only the target language is used in the class room,

2. Sharma, Lakshminarayan : Bhasha, 1, 2 ki Sikshan Vidhiyaan aur Paath Niyojan, 3rd Edition, 1988, Vinod Pustak Bhandar, Agra
3. Army Special Training Programme provided incentive for research and material production in the U.S.A

both as medium and content. Audio-lingual method makes use of structurally organised material by way of drills and exercises. Mimicry and memorisation is a variant of audio-lingual method. Direct method puts increased emphasis on developing listening and speaking skills. Materials properly timed can also enhance reading speed. While some methods move from sentence to word, others move from letter to word to sentence. Micro-teaching is one such method which moves from micro to macro. The instructional material is prepared keeping in view such movement. Whether one consciously manipulates grammar or the learner discovers the grammar from the text makes grammar translation method different from the other methods. Audio-visual method adds visuals as prop by way of situational presentation of learning material and the audio-visual material gives a sense of participation in the cultural milieu which the language represents.

Minimum Levels of Learning

The guide book for the teaching of Arithmetic in elementary schools in Japan defines the aim of curriculum for the elementary education as follows :

“The fundamental aims of elementary school education should be to develop in children basic abilities for character building, and also to cultivate basic values in children and people of Japan.

A harmonic and integrated curriculum should be established so as to build desirable character, i.e. it should be designed to have the children acquire basic knowledge and skill, to promote their health, develop the ability to judge and to create, develop aesthetic values and strong will, and further to cultivate a sensible understanding of and love for the community and nation.

The material should be carefully selected under a far-sighted plan so as to be appropriate for each stage of growth of the children”⁴.

4. Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1972.

The National Policy of Education, 1986, is a hold-all wherein one can find many slogans, both old and new. One of the slogans is the Minimum Levels of Learning. The basic concern of the MLL is that “irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex, all children must be given access to education of a comparable standard”⁵. “In operational terms, 80 per cent of the prescribed learning levels should be the performance target for the teacher henceforth.”⁶ This means that even the minimum has a sub-minimum level. The minimum which answers ‘learning up to mastery level by every child in the class’ has now a below minimum level.

The minimum level of learning is taken as the optimal level by the teachers and teacher educators. Each one speaks of completing the prescribed course. There is no mechanism to monitor the height one reaches beyond the minimum level so that the minimum level becomes the beginning of a range.

One of the six curricular areas under the MLL is language (mother tongue). This is the beginning of the confusion. Mother tongue is neither the language of the mother, nor is it what is indicated by the census returns. Mother usually adopts the language of the father in a patriarchal society. In a modern middle class family, a third language is used at home if the language of the father and mother are different. What adds to the confusion is the fact that higher English is called Mother tongue English. The census returns give caste name, sect name, place name as mother tongue. These are identity tokens waiting for further elucidation and clarification. A child may grow up with many languages. A Tamil married to a Bengali, speaking English at home, living in the Hindi environment of Delhi and with a Nepali help can grow up with five languages. All these languages are acquired under intimate, affectionate and informal condition. One can easily call all of them as the mother tongues of the child. These are differentiated from the learned tongues, whether second, foreign or classical language. At some point of time mother tongue is identified with the first language. In the statement of MLL in language (mother

5-6. NCERT : Minimum Levels of Learning at the Primary Stage (Revised).

tongue/first language), the emphasis is on a single language. Neither biliteracy nor bilingual proficiency is recognised. Even if the State official language is aimed at, no effort is made to link the home language/mother tongue with the school language, which is the official language of the State. In the central schools where English and Hindi are media of instruction, there is neither recognition of the mother tongue nor of the first language of the child.

The elementary level of education covers language, mathematics and environmental studies, besides physical education and art education. Each one of these areas is taken independently. No effort is made to link these areas. For example, it is not understood that unless language is disambiguated, it is difficult to teach mathematics. To a question, given 13 red and blue balls how does one teach the concept of set, one answer may be to separate red balls from blue so that red and blue balls constitute two sets. The given proposition being ambiguous, it is amenable to a second interpretation. If all the 13 balls are partially red and partially blue, then there is only a single set.

Evaluation of methods, materials and media is critical for both formal and non-formal systems. Such evaluations are not to mark pass from fail, but to find strength and weakness of the teaching learning process for academic monitoring, summative evaluation, ascertaining quality of education at the end of elementary education (class5).

Evaluation is often taken for granted. The teachers seldom distinguish evaluation as a distinction between pass and fail from a measure of skills, abilities and competencies attributed to the teaching learning process. The teachers and teacher educators do not distinguish between teaching a language from teaching about a language and both of these from teaching through a language. The third world countries follow the footsteps of their colonial past with devastating consequences. Our language education goals start with the premises of one language. Evaluation in the monolingual and multilingual conditions is bound to be different. A monolingual English speaker uses only English language for meeting the needs of his universe of

discourse while a multilingual uses more than one language to cover his universe of discourse. Therefore, his English, Hindi or any other language, he knows, cannot be compared to that of a monolingual. The evaluation of proficiency cannot be conducted using the same parameters. Unfortunately, there is no recognition of this difference either in the NEP or in the MLL document.

MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING IN SCHOOLS

It is a basic social science fact that human beings live in groups. Language is a necessary concomitant of inter-group and intra-group communication. It is the strongest of bonds in any social group and is the symbol and mark of group identity. For the purposes of socialisation of a human child, both acquisition of the language and of the cumulative wisdom of the society, language is absolutely indispensable. Mother tongue is that language with which one is emotionally identified. It is the language through which the child recognises and organises his experience and environment around him. It is the language through which one expresses one's basic needs, ideas, thoughts, joys, sorrows and all other feelings. It is the language, which, if one loses and adopts another language, one may become intellectually alive but may grow emotionally sterile.

Albert Schweitzer, an outstanding man of this century, who was equally at home with Latin, Greek, French and German wrote in his autobiography : "My own experience makes me think it only self-deception if any one believes that he has two mother tongues. He may think that he is equally master of each. Yet it is invariably the case that he actually thinks only in one and it is only in that one that he is really creative. If any one assures me that he has two languages each as thoroughly familiar to him as the other, I immediately ask him in which of them he counts and reckons, in which he can best give me the names of kitchen utensils and tools used by a carpenter or smith and in which of them he dreams. I have not yet come across any one who, when thus tested, had not had to admit that one of the languages occupied a second place".⁷ Among other things, what stands out in the above observation is the relationship of mother tongue and creativity. It is

7. Schweitzer, Albert : Autobiography.

generally accepted that no one can develop precision of thought and clarity of ideas without acquiring the ability to speak effectively and to read and write correctly and lucidly in one's mother tongue. Even if one acquires equal mastery over two or more languages, still one usually has a dominant cognitive style in one language.

What is a language one acquires and what is the language one leaves and how? In a multilingual household the child grows up with many languages. The language of the father and that of the mother, if different, the common language they use for communication, the language(s) of the care-giver(s), the language of the environment may all be the mother tongues of the child. The child acquires them effortlessly. All of them may be domain specific or task specific and complement to one another. It is important to know that many languages are not employed for the same purpose. Schweitzer's argument for one mother tongue is a reminder of his monolingual bias.

With the explosion of knowledge in the modern world and the breaking of the time-and-space barrier, language isolation is also breaking down. More languages are learnt by more and more people for mutual economic co-operation and cultural enrichment. The quantum of languages other than mother tongue to be learnt depends on the purpose or functional need and motivation of the learner. Both the functional role of a language and the pedagogic situation in which the language is taught and learnt determine whether a language is to be taught as a second or a foreign language.

The speed and frequency of international communication has made it mandatory for people seeking higher education to learn multiple languages. In fact, it is recognised by educationists all around that a person has to learn at least five to six languages in order to participate meaningfully in the 21th century life. The teaching and learning of all these languages may appear to be a burden if the instrumentality of language is not appreciated and adequate attention is not given to the methods, materials and media while teaching languages.

In India, in spite of at least 20 years of modern linguistic research, language teaching is, by and large, purposeless and mother

tongue teaching is taken for granted. The basic difference between mother tongue teaching and other tongue teaching is seldom realised by teachers and teacher educators. The other tongue teacher is usually required to begin with teaching the mechanics of the language, but the mother tongue teacher is to introduce the student to : (a) the visual representation of a language system already mastered by him; (b) the standard elegant forms of speech and various colloquial standards of speech; (c) different styles and genres of writing ; (d) different registers such as language of science, language of philosophy etc ; and (e) different varieties in language use.

In the first stage, where children are taught the socially accepted form of the language reading, writing, numbers and relationships, most of the activities centre round language use. Since languages in India are marked by social and geographical dialects, a conscious attempt has to be made to teach them the socially accepted prestigious model. Therefore, from the beginning a bi-dialectal approach has to be adopted, particularly where the dialect speakers feel so strongly as to claim special language status for their mother tongue.

India is a country of minorities. Every State is a multilingual one as the Union. For the linguistic minorities, particularly those speaking unwritten tribal languages, it is essential that special efforts are made to draw them to the main stream of Indian life. It is suggested that an approach of bilingual schooling be adopted which will help them integrate without offending their identity. It is visualised that this bilingual schooling of a transfer model, through systematic progression, will teach the manipulation of the school language to such a level that the minority mother tongue child can study as near equal with the dominant mother tongue child by the post-primary stage.

In a multilingual country like India, where the home language of the large majority is different from the school language, it is important to understand the concept of the language of early childhood experience which may or may not be the same as the 'mother tongue'.

If a child is bilingual in the school language or a variety of it, then this, rather than the 'mother tongue', may be accepted as a starting point for formal schooling. For example, the Mundari children in Bihar who are bilingual in Bhojpuri may start from Bhojpuri rather than from Mundari to the standard language which is the medium of instruction in the school. Mundari may or may not be taught as a subject depending on the perception of the speakers.

During the first stage (Class 1-5), children should be taught recognition of letters in isolation and combination, with words and simple sentences, reading fluently with comprehension, writing short compositions, reporting incidents or narrations orally, reproducing in written form a spoken narration, summarizing a story or a discussion both orally and in writing, communicating through letters to friends, elders, etc., singing songs and reciting poems. At this stage, emphasis should be laid on familiar experiences and aspects of personal hygiene, environment, social relationship (including social etiquette), legends, myths, tales on the one hand and aspects of scientific invention with which the child is familiar on the other. These should be used as content. Besides, language should encompass subjects like observation of nature, social studies etc., so that scientific attitudes can be germinated and fostered.

In the second stage (Class 6-10) the children should be taught reading fluently with comprehension, writing fluently on a given topic and participating in acting and role playing. They should be given elementary notations regarding language, its role and function in the society, language varieties and their uses. They should be taught to identify and differentiate formal and informal styles, literacy and colloquial styles, etc.

Emphasis at this stage should be laid on the introduction of the child to his own cultural traditions on the one hand and national integration on the other. A wide subject content consistent with levels should be chosen. In so doing, literature of appropriate level and complexity in the language should be exploited to the extent possible. Emphasis must be given on creativity and innovativeness.

In the third stage (Class 11-12), the children should be introduced to literature with a view to developing both creative and critical appreciation. They should be introduced to the language of science, language of philosophy, etc. More emphasis should be given on skills which will enable them to study subjects through the language medium without handicaps as is happening now. There should be attempts to give elements of linguistics in teaching formal grammar of the language. Content should be chosen in a way that will help overcome social attitudes based on superstitions and conservatism.

In order to attain the above objectives, comprehensive change in the attitudes of teachers and teacher trainers is called for. Widespread reform in textbook, examination and teacher training will be needed.

Sample Curriculum Format for Mother Tongue Teaching

An illustrative Curriculum Format given here (Annexure) was developed for the CIIL-Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan (CSO) Mother Tongue Teaching Project. The whole course was worked out for 132 hours comprising four levels of a duration of 33 hours each keeping the needs of the Kendriya Vidyalayas in view.

BILINGUAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION FOR MINORITY MOTHER TONGUES

Why Bilingual Elementary Education?

The child who enters the school for formal education comes with competence in a variety of languages. That variety has the same complexity and potential for expression and communication as any other variety of language. If that variety marks one as a member of a social group, the new learning is to be based on the already acquired competence, not on their rejection.

Educationists, Linguists and Psychologists are of the view that mother tongue is best suited as a medium of early education as it aids concept formation and promotes creativity. In a multilingual country like India, where the notion of mother tongue is mixed up with region, religion, ethnicity, etc., and where children are equally at home with two or more languages/dialects, it is more appropriate to use the term 'the language experience of the child' in the context of elementary education than merely use the term 'mother tongue'. In this context, however, it is the bilingualism or trilinguality at the home surrounding that is to be taken into consideration and not the adult bilingualism of the larger community.

In India, the scheduled languages are spoken by 10 to 80 millions of people. Each of the scheduled languages has about 10 to 97 recognisable dialects. The number of mother tongues in States/Union Territories varied between 14 (L,M & A Islands) 58 (Orissa) 210 (Himachal Pradesh) and 454 (Maharashtra). Out of the 1,652 mother tongues approximately 400 are tribal mother tongues, most of which are unwritten. Among these, 21 languages are spoken by 100,000 and above ; 4 languages by 50,000 to 99,999; 5 languages by 40,000 to 49,999; 6 languages by 20,000 to 29,999; 12 languages by 10,000

to 19,999; and 15 languages by 5,000 to 9,999 of the population⁸. Higher education is available in the medium of English and through the scheduled languages. Therefore, in designing elementary education all these factors have to be taken into account, and the language or dialect of early childhood experience of the learners would have to be determined for this purpose.

Interaction is Central to Learning-centered Education

Indian education is essentially teaching-centered. The teacher considers the child's mind to be an empty container to be filled with his/her own wisdom and with the wisdom contained in the textbook. This explains the primacy of lecture technique of teaching at all stages with textbook being the master of the classroom, which also explains the teacher's insensitivity to the child's early experience with language. This lack of interaction not only inhibits learning but also results in large scale failure and low achievement.

Minority Status Bias

The number of speakers of a language seems to have nothing to do with the phenomenon of their being branded as linguistic minority. Even if 40 million people speak Tamil in Tamilnadu, a Brahmin, a Padayacci or a child from North Arcott meets with the same fate, not to speak of other language settlers. A different kind of situation prevails in tribal language areas, where if 90 or even 100 per cent of children belong to a tribal community, the education policy imposes minority status on them. These children are confronted with an educational scene, wherein the content, method and medium all are alien and consequently, there is little interaction between the teacher and the taught.

Language Versus Educational Discrimination

Language is both the cause and symptom of an inefficient education system. In this sense, language is only an indirect cause of lower opportunity, lower social status and, therefore, discrimination. It

8. Source, 1961 Census.

must be understood that a poor, a scheduled caste, a person from a specific area or social group is also discriminated against for a host of socio-economic reasons. In such cases, even if language barrier is removed, the person would still be discriminated against. Where language difference is used as an excuse for discrimination, societal planning must get priority. But when language difference is the cause of educational discrimination, educational planning must get priority. Both, however, require an understanding of the societal problems involved.

Bilingualism—Models and Muddles

Scholars have talked about assimilation and pluralistic models of bilingual schooling. The underlying assumption, that bilingual schooling in itself fosters either maintenance or loss of language, is erroneous. There are a large number of socio-economic reasons which are responsible for both. In India teaching of standard Hindi has not resulted in the loss of Bhojpuri, Maithili, Magdhi, Braj and Rajasthani. Acceptance of Kannada by Tulu speakers and Marathi/Kannada by Konkani speakers as culture languages has not led to the assimilation of these languages. Even Tanjore Marathi, Mysore Tamil, Kacchi Sindhi and Urdu have not yet been assimilated in spite of teaching which either did not recognise them or gave only nodding recognition at one time or the other. At one time maintenance of language was critical to our understanding, now loss is taking its place.

Scholars have spoken of Dual and Transfer models. In most such cases there is a great deal of confusion. Take, for instance, the Indian scene. Language medium schools, where invariably English is taught as a second/foreign language, are claimed by some as bilingual schools, but these do not certainly present examples of bilingual schooling. The Central School System, where, in some 200 schools Social Sciences and Humanities are taught in Hindi and Physical Sciences in English presents the picture of one kind of bilingual schooling. It must be remembered that even in this system for most students the mother tongue is neither Hindi nor English.

The kind of bilingual schooling suggested by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, and proposed to be experimented among the Vaagai, Kuvi, Tripuri, Muria, Kolami, Warli and the Abujh Madia

alone merits to be considered seriously under this rubric. This in some sense may be called the transfer model. But the societal goal underlying the proposal does neither support shift and assimilation nor maintenance. On the positive side it aims at devising an educational strategy which shall bring the children from the linguistic tributaries to the main stream of education, at least close to the system. This leaves the choice of studying the language as a subject, at a later stage, open, and, therefore, is not transfer in the sense of assimilation. The suggested scheme is to start teaching, reading and writing of the mother tongue (using the script of the major stream language if the mother tongue is unrecorded or inadequately recorded) while introducing the child to the spoken major stream language. In the second phase, reading and writing of the major stream language is to be taught alongwith the mother tongue. In the third, emphasis on the major stream language needs to be more and there will be the reverse of the relation between the mother tongue and the major stream language in the last phase. Thus, at the end of the elementary education, the child would be ready to take full advantage of the major stream education with the least handicap. Whether the division is 4+3+3 or 5+2+3, the scheme can be adjusted according to local needs.

Here one should bear in mind the difference between the Indian and the Western situation. In the West, the problem of education is that of the immigrant minority in the context of a dominant monolingual majority with an accepted standard. In the multilingual Indian scene where a child is called upon to learn at least three languages to cater to enlarging concentric circles of communication, the problem is one of planned bilingualism at successive stages to ensure balanced multilingualism. Viewed in this perspective, the bilingual elementary education proposed by the Central Institute of Indian Languages is neutral between maintenance and loss of the mother tongue. It may result in either, but will promote neither. It is the only viable educational strategy that can meet the demands of competing languages and dialects, avoid stagnation and wastage at the elementary stage and lay the foundation for a good continuing education.

PREPARATION FOR THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMME

The suggested *Bilingual Education* entails certain commitments and requires certain preparation before, during and after the implementation of the programme on the part of the educational administrators of the State. These could be chalked out under four heads: (1) Material Production, (2) Teacher Training, (3) Evaluation and (4) Administration.

1. *Material Production* : Special language instructional materials be written in the mother tongue for all the three phases. The special features of these mother tongue materials are devising a script for the unwritten mother tongue based on the script of the school language and integration of the subject matter of the content subjects in mother tongue teaching, balancing between the immediate experience of the minority children and the larger goals of the school curriculum following the modern methods of teaching, reading and writing in a short time, etc. Special language instructional materials must be prepared for phases 2 and 3. The special features of these school language materials are teaching, reading and writing of the school language, taking advantage of the similarities in script and words between the mother tongue and the school language incorporation of the contents already taught in the mother tongue, following the techniques of second language teaching in material preparation especially in the exercises and drills. Since in the first phase, situational and content teaching of the school language is to be done orally, a guide book for the teachers detailing the methods and materials for the oral teaching of a second language must be prepared.

Regarding instructional materials for other subjects such as arithmetic, science and social studies, the existing materials, if any, in

the school language may be used for guidance by the teachers. Since the teaching of these subjects will be in the mother tongue, these materials will not be used by the students. They, moreover, cannot use the first phase materials in the school language, since they will not have learnt the reading and writing of the school language. They will be able to follow the materials a little in the 2nd phase and more so, in the 3rd phase. Therefore, they will be used only as supplementary materials at the 3rd phase.

Instructional materials will have to be written in the mother tongue on these subjects. They will be particularly necessary in the case of mother tongue groups from which adequate number of native teachers are not available to teach in the bilingual schools. The preparation of these books will involve, besides the expertise in these subjects, the development of vocabulary in the mother tongue. Wherever there is a lexical gap and wherever possible, the words for new concepts available in the school language may be used in the mother tongue also. This will help the transfer.

2. *Teacher Training* : Since bilingual teaching requires special materials and methods, in-service training for the primary teachers is necessary. It is preferable if the teachers are the native speakers of the mother tongue who also know the school language for pedagogical and psychological reasons. The teacher training must give special attention to the methods of second language teaching for children, to the methods of oral and situational teaching, to the techniques of judicious and selective use of the school language in instructions and explanations, to a general understanding and appreciation of minority mother tongue children's learning problems, to an understanding of the interference phenomenon in language teaching, to the modern methods of evaluation, and to the psychological preparedness on the part of the teachers for the new learning-teaching situation. Selected teachers must be involved in the material production also so that they develop a sense of involvement in the programme. The training may be for two weeks. During the training programmes, the bilingual instructional materials will be used for discussing and exemplifying the problems of teaching in a bilingual programme.

3. *Evaluation* : Since this is an innovative programme, it must be ensured at every stage that the children are learning the specified skills with the prescribed speed. Instruments must be prepared to measure the learning of the cognitive as well as linguistic skills in the mother tongue as also in the school language. The findings of these evaluations will be helpful to make changes, if necessary, in the future programme.

An evaluation should also be done to find out how far the bilingual teaching is better than the conventional teaching for the minority children. This may be done by comparing the experimental groups with control groups, wherever possible. A longitudinal study may be more helpful in this area.

4. *Administration* : The success of the entire programme depends upon the support it gets from the administration. The administrative support should come forth not only in terms of men and materials but also in terms of commitment. Since the schools of the minority communities are at places, not easily accessible, administrative steps should be taken to ensure that the programme is fully and faithfully implemented by the teachers. The administration should encourage the teachers to spell out their experience, both positive and negative, of the bilingual teaching. Good co-operation between the linguists and the educationists who prepare the syllabus and materials, the teachers who help to produce instructional materials and implement the programme in schools and the administrators of education in the States is a must.

Curriculum of Bilingual Education

Any educational programme which uses two languages as media of instruction may be called a programme of bilingual education. There are many types of bilingual education programmes. The one outlined here may be called the transfer type. It is meant to transfer the education gradually from one medium of instruction to another. This type of educational programme is suggested for the children in multilingual societies where their mother tongue or the language of

the childhood experience is not the language when they come to school. For such children it is necessary to become competent in that language to follow the main stream of education without impairing the development of their cognitive faculties. *The term mother tongue in the following paragraphs refers to the mother tongue or the language of the early childhood experience of such children and the term school language refers to the medium of the major stream of education in the area.*

In the proposed curriculum for the Bilingual Education, both the mother tongue and the school language will be taught as language subjects in phase 1 for equal number of hours. But, for the school language, there will be only oral teaching to provide contact and develop basic spoken and listening skills in that language. There will be no textbook for teaching the school language, but there will be guidelines for the teacher to engage the children in linguistic interaction. There will be a primer in the mother tongue to be used to develop reading, writing and cognitive skills. The contents in the mother tongue primer will also incorporate the subject matter of Science and Social Studies. This integrated approach to the curriculum will help the children learn the content subjects while they are learning the language. The primers in the mother tongue will be written in the case of unwritten or recently written languages in the script of the school language with necessary modifications. Science and Social Studies in phase 1 will be taught orally without textbook. Arithmetic will also continue to be taught orally without any textbook and explanations and instructions will be given in the mother tongue with repetitions in the school language. In other subjects such as Art and Crafts, Moral Science and Physical Science also, the medium of instruction and interaction will be the mother tongue with repetitions in the school language. The mother tongue may be used roughly for 60 per cent of the time and the school language for 40 per cent of the time while teaching the non-language subjects. However, while teaching the school language as a language subject, the emphasis will be on the situational uses of that language.

In phase 2, the two languages will be continued for the same number as the subjects. The mother tongue primer 2 for this class will

be used to further develop writing, reading and cognitive skills. A specially prepared primer of the school language will be used in this class for developing the reading, writing and cognitive skills in that language. This primer in the school language will be designed taking advantage of the similarities between the script and the words in the mother tongue. Since the reading and writing skills are generalized skills, they can be transferred with ease from the mother tongue to the school language. The method of teaching the subjects will be the same as for phase 1 except that more school language can be used for instructions and explanations. The mother tongue may be used for 50 per cent of the time and the school language for the remaining 50 per cent.

In phase 3, the mother tongue primer 3 will be used to continue the teaching of mother tongue and the development of cognitive skills. A specially prepared school language primer 2, will be used to further develop reading, writing and cognitive skills in that language. In this class Science, Social Studies and Arithmetic may have textbooks. These textbooks will be in the school language. But oral instructions and explanations will be continued to be given in the mother tongue and in the school language. At this phase, the mother tongue may be used for 40 per cent of the time and the school language for 60 per cent. At the end of phase 3, the mother tongue learners should be able to follow, without difficulty, the regular courses in the school given through the medium of the school language.

The two other languages, Hindi and English to be taught under the three-language formula, will be introduced at the post-primary level. Though it is true that more contact with a language will help in learning it, it is not necessary to have more years of teaching for more contact. Improvement in second language teaching methods in school can also provide more intensive contact in lesser time. Hence, there will not be any reduction of learning by the postponement of teaching Hindi and English to the post-primary level.

DETRACTORS OF MULTILINGUALISM

Dominant monolingualism and multilingualism divide the world in the same way as rich and poor, information rich and information poor, the developed and the developing. The imbalance is so great that 10 per cent of the people belonging to the rich, information rich and the developed sector consume 90 per cent of the world energy, control and consume 90 per cent of information and manipulate 90 per cent of the world wealth in order to maintain their life style. The developed countries talk about post-modern and post-colonial discourse. When they do not recognise the Third World as modern, to talk about post-modern and post-colonial discourse is sham. As already said earlier, the developed countries appropriated the First and Second World status, lumped the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America as the Third World. It is not at all surprising that the First and the Second World, otherwise called the developed World, are mono-modal societies, whereas the Third World is multilingual, multi-ethnic and multicultural. The developed countries are colonial whereas the developing countries are colonised.

Colonialism is an ongoing process. Those who talk about post-colonialism forget the rationalisation of the newer garbs in which it enters into the developing world. The first rationalisation is that colonialism came to civilise the natives. The second coming is to develop the underdeveloped. The justification of the third coming is to protect the ecology and the environment. Whether to civilise, to develop or to protect, the net result is exploitation. Exploitation is stabilised by putting the indigenous languages in adversary postures with the colonial language, by robbing the mother tongues of the indigenous people.

The relationship between One, Two and the Many, Monolingualism, Bilingualism and Multilingualism is very complex. It can be seen as parallel to Singular, Dual and the Plural. The dual is

a historic relic in languages such as Sanskrit. So is bilingualism a rare category between monolingualism and multilingualism. The variations within a single language, dialects, sociolects, styles and registers were hardly recognised by dominant monolingual State, though literary styles did receive some attention. French is an example where Deputies insisted that French had no dialects. The UK, USA and European countries are examples which denied existence of mother tongues as well as native speakers. Mother tongues and native speakers were attributed to minor and minority languages.

In English, some nouns have different meanings in singular and plural. For example, 'Air' refers to the air we breathe or the atmosphere, 'Airs' means 'pretentiousness'. Some nouns have two meanings in singular but one in the plural. For example, 'Light' means 'radiance' or lamp like things that emit light such as torch light, candle light etc. But in its plural form it refers to its second meaning. Some nouns have one meaning in singular, but two in the plural. For example, spectacle means a sight, 'spectacles' mean 'sights' as well as 'eye glasses'. Similarly, monolingualism refers to the dominant use of a language, whereas multilingualism refers to the use of two or more languages. Multilingualism may refer to the conglomeration of single language speakers in a community or may refer to many languages shared by a community.

There is another dimension to multilingualism. English has two words, snow and ice, whereas Eskimos distinguish thirty-six varieties. English has two words, wind and air, and most Indian languages have one or two words, a fishing community in Kerala coast in South India distinguishes twenty varieties. There are words like Sraddha and Rasa in Indian languages which have no equivalent in English as there are words in English which have no equivalent in Indian languages. As most such differences are culturally determined, so are the categories of mono and multilingualism.

The world is multilingual with 5000 languages. Instead of building theories on the basis of multilingualism, the developed countries built theories from the vantage point of their dominant monolingual experience. This is of importance as the bulk of research

funding is utilised in the developed countries. Paul Neergaard, former Director of the Danish Institute of Seed Pathology, had pointed out that, in 1973, standard 97 per cent of the research funding in the world was spent in the 1st and the 2nd World. Only 3 per cent was spent in the Developing World. There is little difference between then and now. Therefore, whether it is about bilingualism or multimodal States, about multicropping or pluriculturalism, theories were constructed in the 1st or the 2nd World with a view to universalise their experience. This permanently handicapped the Developing World and made them permanent parasites on the colonial world.

Most of the theories emanating from developed world perceive different as deficient and assume that structures built around unitary symbols are superior to those built around multiple symbols. Bilingualism was considered inferior, subtractive and less intelligent than the monolingualism. Development was made contingent on monolingualism. Unilingual and monocultural States were considered superior to bilingual and multilingual States. Canada, a bilingual State, came to the verge of secession, as both English and French are perceived to be in adversary relation. Switzerland, which had three languages and with the introduction of English became a four language State, received grudging recognition from theory builders. It was theorised that states having more than three or four languages are muddle headed. Once the developed countries were forced to acknowledge that bilinguals were not less intelligent than monolinguals and bilingualism is not subtractive but additive, the theory builders accepted bilingualism and multilingualism. They are unwilling to accept multilingualism as carrier of multiculturalism. Since then scholars and planners in the developed world have stuck to that position.

Theories of State idealised the Nation State built around unitary symbols. One language, one culture, one religion and in its extreme manifestation one party and one leader defined the Nation State. The third world countries, which when decolonised built their states in the image of their colonial masters. From Unitary to the Federal State was considered a quantum jump in the same way as monolingualism progressed into bilingualism. In the cacophony of noise for unitary and federal states, Presidential and Prime Ministerial structures Gandhi's

Gram Swaraj 'village republics' and Lohia's Four Pillar State were drowned. India lost an opportunity for projecting these as alternate planning to the ones presented by the developed world.

Gandhi was against intolerance. He was aware that a multilingual pluri-cultural country cannot be sustained through intolerance. Whether the intolerance is from the majorities to the minorities or vice versa, he was aware that this is against the spirit of democracy. A multilingual country cannot be isolationist. Gandhi said "I do not want my house to be walled in all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown off my feet by any".⁹ A multicultural State can only thrive on the respect for the different. Intolerance cannot co-exist with the respect for the different.

The word 'development' has been used in diverse ways in Social Science literature. Language development is detached from economic development and has not found place in any development studies. It is not appreciated by theory builders that adequacy and inadequacy is not to be sought in language but in the individual user, as also vitality. Vitality is not to be sought in the language structure, but in the user. It is a well known maxim among socio-linguistics that maintenance of a language depends on the loyalty of its speakers. Divergence studies have not been sufficiently attended to while convergence studies have been projected. All these are anti-multilingualism. As development presupposes underdevelopment, language development must presuppose language underdevelopment. The development theorists brand all third world languages as under-developed. *The minor and minority languages in the developed world are referred to as the Fourth World.* In Canada and Australia the itinerants as well as the tribals are referred to as the First Nations or the Fourth World in scize.

Indian multilingualism is to be seen in 1652 mother tongues approximating to 200 and 700 languages. Those who consider many languages as a problem, are desperate at the number. They do not stop by to note that 471 are spoken by 5 or less persons; 652 are spoken by

9. Govt. of Goa, Daman and Diu, Dept. of Information and Publicity :
GANDHI'S THOUGHTS, Panaji, Goa, 1984

at least 10,000 speakers and out of the last recorded 33 languages are spoken by 10,00,000 speakers. Add to this the caste names (such as Teli), sect names (such as Haridasi), speakers belonging to an area outside the language zone they are interviewed (such as Pardeshi, Bahargaon), speakers speaking the language of a specific area (such as Bilaspuria). One can, without fear of contradiction, say that the 1652 mother tongues reported are not language names. They are identity tokens which need analysis and clarification.

How political interference can change the map can be seen from the census. A decision was taken to merge languages spoken by 10,000 speakers and less with dominant languages of the area. According to the census, 221 languages are spoken by 10,000, within this 90 languages exceed 10,000 speakers out of which 49 are spoken by speakers between one and ten lakhs. It is the change in the measuring rod which is responsible for this havoc. The concern to reduce the number of languages is of the devastating consequence.

A different perspective of multilingual status of India can be seen from the following. Although 18 languages are recognised by the 8th schedule of the Constitution of India, the Sahitya Academy has given recognition to 22 languages and recognised fifteen minor languages for development. In India, newspapers and periodicals are published in 35 languages, 67 languages are used in Primary Education, the National Literacy Mission imparts literacy in 80 languages and the All India Radio broadcasts in 104 languages. Under these circumstances to speak of reducing the number of languages is against the spirit of multilingualism and multilingual India.

There is controversy about script. It must be noted that languages of India belong to four language families, whereas scripts other than Roman and Perso-Arabic belong to a single family. All of them go back to a single source, Brahmi. Prof. S.K. Chatterjee pleaded for Roman, but he refused to set an example by writing in Roman instead of Bengali. Reduction of scripts as well as languages are pressures exerted by mono-modal logic. The controversy overlooks two factors. One is that the current claim of 50 per cent literacy will come down to 2 per cent if one script were to replace the many in use. Secondly, there is

bound to be a major break between tradition and modernity as transmission of traditional culture through literacy mode are ruptured.

While I went to Delhi for the first time after taking charge of the CIIL, somebody asked me which is the national language of India. I told him that all languages existing on the Indian soil are national languages of India, none is anti-national. A policy is needed to use different languages for designated purposes.

If one counts the mother tongues beginning with the first census, then there would be approximately 3000 mother tongues. There are equal number of castes and communities and faiths and beliefs. These have not resulted from colonial encounter. Patanjali, in his Mahaabhaasya, says that the word 'cow' has many forms, go, goNi, gaabhi, goTaa, gopataalikaa. Bharat Naatya Shaastra speaks of multiple 'pravrutti'. Defining 'Pravrutti', he says, "Prithivyaaam Naanaa Desa Besa Bhaasaachaara Khyapayatiliti Pravrutti".¹⁰ Pravrutti means different countries, dresses, languages, behaviours etc. Following this Patanjali recognised four 'pravrutti's in India.

Even in the Vedic times the Rishi in consternation at the 330 million gods asks, "Kasmai Devaaya Habisaa Vidhema " which God(s) shall I offer sacrifice." This suggests pluri-culturalism and multilingualism.

There are many points of departure to distinguish between monolingualism and multilingualism. One of the points is ideolect, which is the ensemble of language resources of an individual. So far it is taken for granted that ideolect refers to a single language. No scholar has spoken about multilingual ideolect and what the many languages do to the ideolect. Even Chomosky's statement about a language of the ideal speaker/hearer is the result of his monolingual inheritance.

Another factor is the measurement of language competence of a monolingual and a multilingual. Until recently the competence of

10. Patanjali : Mahaabhaasya.

the multilingual was measured against the monolingual. Multilingual was found wanting. It was not considered that the monolingual manages his entire universe of discourse with a single language whereas the multilingual handles his with a number of languages. Therefore, it is unfair to compare the English competence of a multilingual Indian child with that of a monolingual English child. Similarly, it is not proper to compare the language competence of a minority child with that of a majority child. There is very little definitive research about it in any of the Third World countries.

CONCLUSION

The multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character of India has not been a point of departure for educational planners, teacher educators and teachers. Multilingualism, instead of being treated as a resource to build upon, is considered a burden and a handicap. As a result, one language receives primacy and is considered ideal. The observation of the Chairman, NCTE, "The components of Teacher Education Programmes, such as subject matter content, pedagogical courses, student teaching and practical work have to be rooted in the regional and socio-cultural plurality of the nation"¹¹ comes as a wisp of fresh air. Equality and social justice cannot be ensured by eliminating the minor and the minority language speakers. The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, the smaller ethnic groups and smaller culture groups can be ensured only by changing the mind set of planners and by recognising and respecting the 'different'.

A 'national concensus' for a single curriculum format smacks of a mono-model. Within a broad framework, different curricular formats need to be developed. For example, at one point of time the curriculum of Primary Education of Maharashtra contained fortytwo subjects, whereas in other parts their number was much less. Primary education is primarily mother tongue education or mother linked state language education. There are many possibilities of linkage depending on the bi-multilinguality of the children. There are many ways of managing diversity at this stage.

Flexible curriculum and diversity management can be exemplified by English and Sanskrit. Language teaching in advanced countries is counted by hours and not by years. Therefore, English 400, developed by the CIEFL can be seen as an alternative to English

11. NCTE : Discussion Document - Curriculum Frame-work, Preface, 1996.

from class 1 to 10. These 400 hours of English can be given in one or two years as an intensive course at some stage or as one or two summer programmes. English can be given at the post primary stage as was done in West Bengal. English could be made optional at the school stage as was done in Gujarat. The central emphasis for a national consensus lowers down the standard of education. Prior to the present 10+2+3, the country was divided between 10+2+3 and 11+2+2. The schools of 10 years and 11 years were considered equal and both the graduates were considered equal. The imposition of 10+2+3 for the whole country created problems in which the plus two became part of the school, part of the college, or autonomous units.

English is not a single homogeneous language as is believed by many. Like Hindi and Chinese, it subsumes many varieties. A decade ago scholars were speaking of the English language; now they are speaking of the Englishes of the world. When a language extends itself, it makes neighbours strangers and begins to show its colonial fangs.

As regards Sanskrit, it may be a compulsory component of Degree courses in Indian Philosophy, Ancient Indian History and Culture, Indian Archeology, and Modern Indian Languages. One can ask for reading competence at the M. Phil. as well as Ph.D. programmes. At the school stages it could be offered optionally. There is no need to quarrel for retaining it in the three language formula. The CIIL produced two texts, one for Indo Aryan speakers and the other for Aryan language scholars. These could form part of MIL at the school stage, as an alternative to the current practice. These have been prepared on the assumption that each MIL contains a bit of Sanskrit. Keeping in view the commonalities, the Readers have been so prepared that after studying them, not only both mother tongue and Sanskrit would leave an option open if the learner would like to go into the Sanskrit stream or the MIL stream.

Language is a subject as well as a medium. It is unfortunate that language as a subject is considered language as literature. Non-fictional prose does not find place in the language literature curriculum. Dialects, sociolects, styles and registers have no place in the language curriculum. These need to be rectified.

ANNEXURE

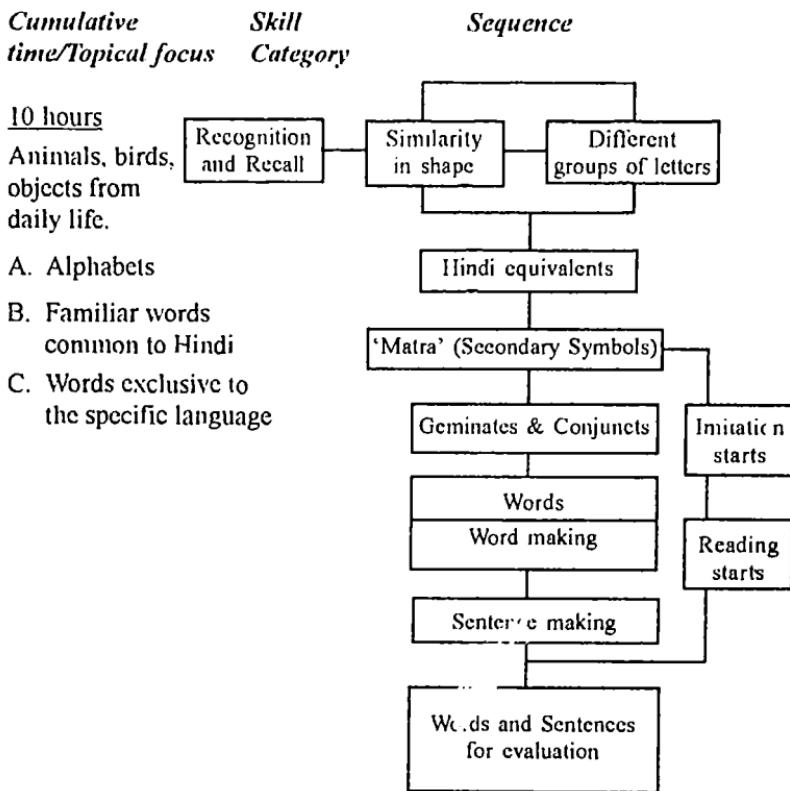
CIIL - KVS MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING PROJECT CURRICULUM FORMAT

Level I

Objectives :

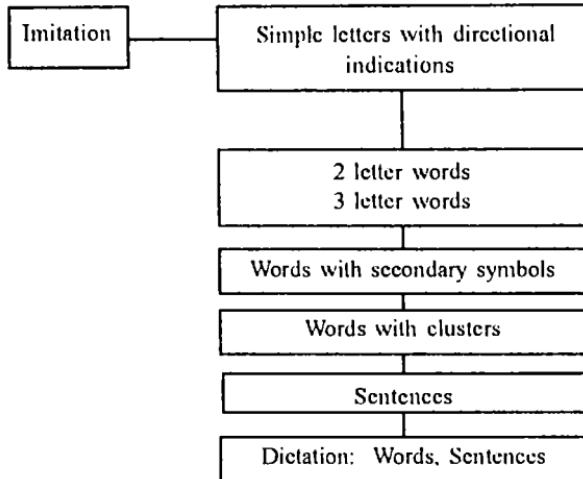
The student will be able to:

1. Recognise letters in isolation and in combination;
2. Write words and simple sentences;
3. Read with comprehension words and simple sentences; and
4. Write short compositions in the language.



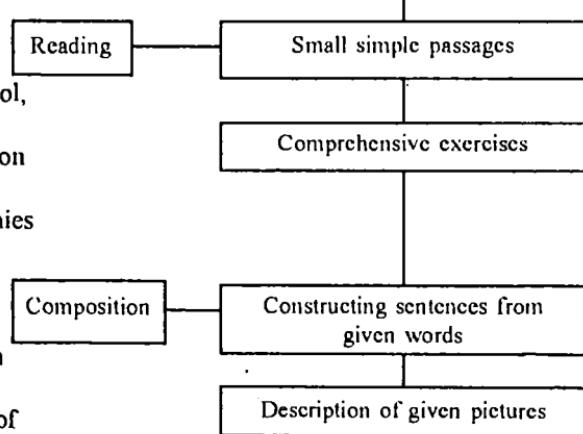
20 hours

Household articles, fruits, vegetables, animals, words relating to familiar objects and activities.



28 hours

Passages relating to incidents in school, hygiene, folktales, discoveries, invention stories, Historical anecdotes, biographies



33 hours

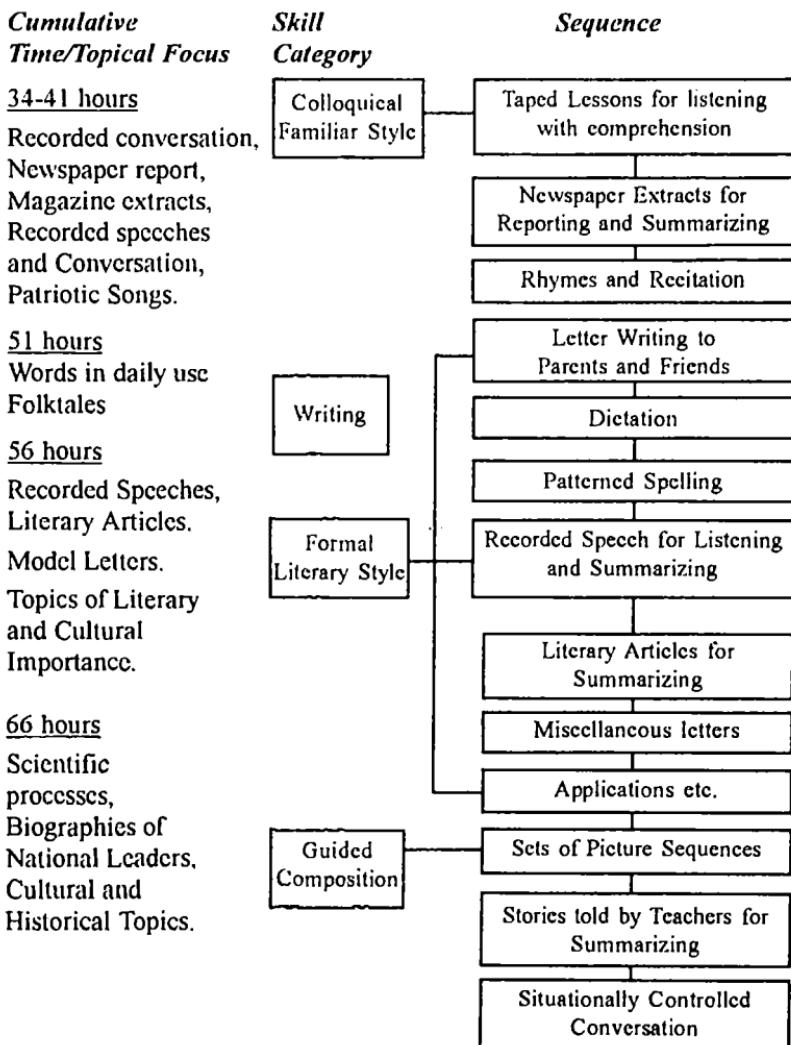
Folktales, invention stories, production process, e.g., story of paper, iron extracts, etc.

Level II

Objectives:

The students will be able to :

1. Report an incident or narration orally;
2. Reproduce in writing from a spoken narration;
3. Summarize a story or discussion both orally and in writing; and
4. Communicate through letter to (a) friends, and (b) elders.

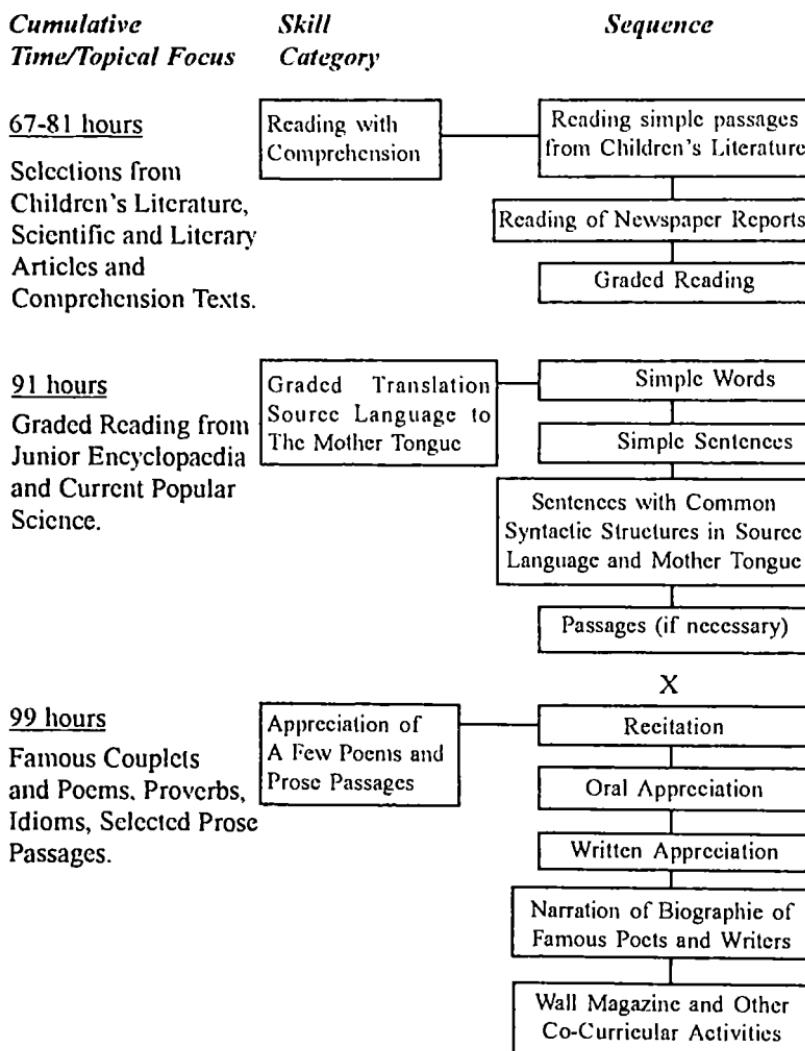


Level III

Objectives:

The students will be able to:

1. Read fluently with comprehension;
2. Translate from source language to the Mother-Tongue; and
3. Appreciate formal Literary Style.



Level IV

Objectives:

The students will be able to:

1. Write fluently on a given topics;
2. Participate in acting and role playing; and
3. Identify the difference in formal and informal styles, literary and colloquial styles, etc.

